6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

NOTES

[1] The field research on which this paper is based was supported by a Research Training Fellowship granted by the Social Science Research Council and by the William Bayard Cutting Travelling Fellowship awarded through the Trustees of Columbia University.

The writer's wife, Yolanda Murphy, co-operated in all phases of the collection and evaluation of the field data. Drs. Fred Eggan, A. L. Kroeber, George P. Murdock, Julian Steward, and Charles Wagley read and commented upon this paper, and the author wishes to express his gratitude for their aid and interest.

[2] For the purposes of this paper the spelling of Mundurucú words is a simple Anglicization, except in the following cases: i and u have the phonetic values of Spanish i and u; ö is pronounced as in German; ĩ and ũ are nasal sounds.

[3] The identical marriage practices have been found in South America in bilateral societies having an essentially Dakota type kinship system. The difference between these cases and the Mundurucú seems to be most simply explained as a function of the line through which relationship is traced. A bilateral system would probably emphasize cross-cousin marriage, while sister's daughter marriage would be more clearly indicated in a patrilineal organization. Data on referential systems is, unfortunately, generally omitted or not clearly distinguished from the vocative system in the literature, and it is therefore difficult to analyze the terminology by the method followed herein.

[4] The trumpets are long hollow cylinders with reeds inserted in the mouth. The vibrations of the reeds emerge from the trumpet, essentially an echo chamber, as a deep reverberating sound. The instruments have a phallic symbolism which is evident when considered in connection with the associated legend. That the symbolic association between the genitalia and male dominance is not too remote in the male subconscious is suggested by the informant who, when asked how the Mundurucú "tame their women," replied "with the banana." These comments do not mean that I propose a psychological explanation of this complex. It merely indicates the deep interaction between culture and personality, structurally viewed. For our present purpose, it is preferable to view the complex as an integral part of the sociocultural structure.

[5] The reader will note that this is a somewhat different concept than the usual generalized statement of 'increase in the economic importance' of women. Eggan (1950:131) views the continuance of matrilocality among the Hopi in much the same light.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ALMEIDA SERRA, RICARDO F. DE
1869 Navegação do Rio Tapajós para o Pará. Revista do Instituto Historico e Geografico Brasileiro, 9:1–16, Rio de Janeiro.

BATES, HENRY W.
1863 The naturalist on the river Amazon. London.

COUDREAU, HENRI
1897 Voyage au Tapajoz. Paris.

EGGAN, FRED
1937 The Cheyenne and Arapaho kinship system. *in* Social Anthropology of North American tribes. F. Eggan, ed. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press. pp. 35–95.
1950 Social organization of the Western Pueblos. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press.
1954 Social anthropology and the method of controlled comparison. American Anthropologist 56:743–63.

GOLDSCHMIDT, WALTER
1948 Social organization in native California and the origin of clans. American Anthropologist 50:444–56.

HARTT, CHARLES F.
1885 Contribuições para a etnologia do Valle do Amazonas. Archivos do Museu Nacional 6:1–174. Rio de Janeiro.

HEINE-GELDERN, R.
1923 Südostasien. *in* Buschan, G. Illustrierte Völkerkunde, vol. 11, Stuttgart.

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

The repression of open conflict among the Puebloans accounts for the latent hostility that many ethnologists have seen seething below surface relations. Under modern conditions this often results in community fission, and the same process can be noted among the contemporary, nonwarring Mundurucú. Lacking adequate safety-valves for the release of aggression, the Mundurucú now tend to withdraw from the frustrating situation.

Not all matrilocal groups repress aggression to the same extent as do the Mundurucú, nor are they as warlike. The greater emphasis of the Mundurucú upon social cohesion and external aggression stems from the persistence of patrilineal clans in a matrilocal society. This factor, combined with inter-village matrilocality, made hostility even more explosive and internal release systems less workable. It oriented the group toward warfare and provided the organization for its effective pursuit. Some deviation from our model is expectable, for there is no fixed and unvarying reservoir of aggression in society; it has its roots in the social structure, as does its expression. Our thesis states only that matrilocal societies must repress the open expression of intrasocietal conflict and that this repressed hostility, variable in intensity, will be released through acceptable and nondisruptive means within the society, or through warfare, or through both. But warfare, it can be concluded, is an especially effective means of promoting social cohesion in that it provides an occasion upon which the members of the society unite and submerge their factional differences in the vigorous pursuit of a common purpose.

NOTES

[1] The field research upon which this article is based was conducted by my wife and me during 1952–53, and was supported by a Research Training Fellowship, granted by the Social Science Research Council, and the William Bayard Cutting Traveling Fellowship, awarded through the Trustees of Columbia University. Grateful acknowledgement is made to these institutions.

The present article was read in manuscript by David M. Schneider and profited greatly from his suggestions.

[2] This seemingly incredible sortie was still remembered by the Urubú Indians of the upper Gurupí River in the state of Maranhão, according to a personal communication from the Brazilian ethnologist, Dr. Darcy Ribeiro.

[3] A fuller description of the ceremonies held subsequent to a successful raid will be published in a forthcoming monograph (Murphy n.d.).

REFERENCES CITED

ALMEIDA SERRA, RICARDO
1869 Navegação do Rio Tapajóz para o Para (1779). Revista do Instituto Historico e Geografico Brasileiro 9:1–16.

AYRES DE CASAL, MANOEL
1817 Corografia brazilica. Rio de Janeiro.

BATES, HENRY W.
1863 The naturalist on the river Amazons. London.

CHANDLESS, W.
1862 Notes on the rivers Arinos, Juruena, and Tapajós. Journal of the Royal Geographic Society 36:119–128.

COSER, LEWIS A.
1956 The functions of social conflict. Glencoe, The Free Press.

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Mowlagnais NHL

Reprinted for private circulation from
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND CULTURAL CHANGE
Vol. IV, No. 4, July 1956
PRINTED IN U.S.A.

TAPPERS AND TRAPPERS: PARALLEL PROCESS IN ACCULTURATION[1]

Mo
Mu

I. The Problem

121 The purpose of this paper is to show how two cases of acculturation exemplify parallel processes of culture change, that is, cross-cultural regularities of function and causality, even though differences in outward form and substantive content are such that the acculturation might also be considered as convergent development.

Mo
Mu
121
171 As subsequent sections will show in detail, the Mundurucú of the Tapajós River in Brazil and the Northeastern Algonkians in Canada differed during pre-contact times in social structure, in the general nature of their culture, and in their cultural ecological adaptations. The first were tropical forest hunters and horticulturalists living in semi-permanent villages and given to warfare.
Mo
Mu The second were hunters of large migratory game and were losely organized in nomadic bands. Despite these differences, however, both represented roughly the same level of sociocultural integration.
[621] That is, individual families were related to one another through certain supra-familial patterns--village activities in the one case and band functions in the other--but the local unit in each instance was politically autonomous.

Since this paper is essentially an illustration of methodology, it is important to stress that the concept of level does not classify cultures according to concrete and substantive form and content. Different cultures may be wholly unlike in their particulars in that they are the products of distinctive area histories or traditions and of local adaptations to environments. At the same time, the largest integrated and autonomous social units may be of a similar order of inclusiveness. While, therefore, similarity of level must underly formulations of cross-cultural regularities, such similarity alone does not at all imply typological identity. The aboriginal tropical forest Mundurucú and the sub-arctic Algonkian hunters were wholly unlike in most cultural particulars and in social structure, although both were integrated on comparable sociocultural levels.

They were alike, however, in the acculturative processes to which they were subjected and in the final cultural type which is now emerging in both populations. The processes were similar in the special manner in which outside

Mo

---

171 1. The acculturational phenomena described in this article were apparently
177 found among many, although not all, Northeastern Algonkians, including native groups of New England as well as Canada. Speck, Steward, and others have considered this problem for many years. They were also found among certain Mackenzie Basin Athabaskans, as Jenness has shown. A very comparable case of acculturational process was studied by Steward among the British Columbia Carrier. These cases will be cited in the concluding comparative section. The Montagnais are taken as our principal example
Mu because Eleanor Leacock studied them in detail from this point of view.
122 The Mundurucu of Brazil are analyzed on the basis of a year of field research by Yolanda and Robert Murphy during 1952-53. The research was conducted under the sponsorship of the Department of Anthropology, Columbia University, and was made possible by a Research Training Fellowship granted by the Social Science Research Council and the William Bayard Cutting Traveling Fellowship, awarded through the Trustees of Columbia University.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

PREFACE

THIS MONOGRAPH is based primarily upon data gathered in the course of research among the Mundurucú Indians of the state of Pará, Brazil, in 1952 and 1953. The field work, in which my wife Yolanda and I collaborated, was conducted with the support of the William Bayard Cutting Traveling Fellowship, awarded by the Trustees of Columbia University, and a Research Training Fellowship from the Social Science Research Council. At the time of the investigation, we were graduate students in the Department of Anthropology of Columbia University, and our work was under the guidance of Professors Julian H. Steward and Charles Wagley.

The focus of the research was upon those changes in economic and social structure consequent upon the involvement of the Mundurucú in the rubber-extraction industry, but we set as a further goal the collection of as much ethnographic data as was possible during the year available. This aim was partly motivated by a desire to add to the information about South American Indian groups, but it was also felt that completely concentrated and problem-oriented research could be done only in cultures upon which a good background of reliable information was already available.

Actually, the Mundurucú are probably better known than most South American Indians, except for those few groups which have been the subject of prolonged and intensive study. This speaks less for the wealth of published data than for the poverty of our knowledge of the area. A certain amount of data is available from the early nineteenth-century explorations of Spix and Martius, and a fine source on Mundurucú culture in the latter part of the century is available in the report of the Brazilian engineer, Antonio M. G. Tocantins. More limited and fragmentary data are available in the work of Manoel Ayres de Casal, Henry Walter Bates, William C. Farabee, João Barbosa Rodrigues, Henri Coudreau, José Monteiro Noronha, and Ricardo de Almeida Serra. Some excellent material has been published by the Franciscan missionaries to the Mundurucú, especially Fathers Albert Kruse and C. Strömer. Unfortunately, I have not had access to the information published by these priests and their colleagues in the *Provinzeitschrift der Franziskaner in Nordbrasilien*. The information available in most of the above sources is based upon limited residence among the Indians, and some contain most questionable data. None was written in the light of modern anthropological problems and theories or with the aid of contemporary field techniques.

Accordingly, my wife and I proceeded to gather as wide a range of data as was possible within the limits imposed by the necessity to accumulate material pertinent to our main interests. The present work represents one aspect of this research. The reader will see that a great deal of the native religion has been lost as a result of contact with Brazilian society, and certain items reported were not actually witnessed by me. It was continually necessary to resort to the memories of older Mundurucú, but we made every attempt to insure the reliability of our facts by cross-checking our data with several informants. I stated in the text which activities and beliefs are extinct and which are still practiced. The final

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

121 tracted my attention as a research possibility because the tribe had become differentiated into two distinct groups, one characterized by adherence to traditional ways and the other drastically modified. Since I was studying problems of social and economic change, I felt that the Mundurucú presented an opportunity for a "controlled comparison," to use Dr. Fred Eggan's words, between the two sections. I phrased my research proposals in these terms and carried out my intent in the field. Of our thirteen months in Brazil, from May, 1952, to June, 1953, we spent about five months each in a conservative village and in a more "modern" one.

This book does not present a general ethnography of Mundurucú culture; it is rather an analysis of economy and social structure, and their changes. The study of social relations in space and in time inevitably involves the-
128 ory. I have not attempted to keep "theory" and "fact" rigidly compartmentalized, for facts are meaningless outside a frame of reference and theories are equally devoid of content unless based on substantive data. This is especially true in the present study, as some data appear incomprehensible until their proper position is seen in the light of theoretical assumptions.

• 122 The field trip was supported by the William Bayard Cutting Traveling Fellowship, administered by Columbia University, and by a Research Training Fellowship awarded by the Social Science Research Council. Much of the writing of the book was done in 1957 with the support of a Faculty Summer Fellowship given by the University of California. Funds awarded by the Research Committee and the Institute of International Relations at the University of California made possible research assistance and typing. Mrs. Janet Seibert prepared the manuscript and was a continual source of help and encouragement.